3: Simpson N-5 (1939) 1941 SS16 Pemon SS16

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3: Simpson N-5 (1939) 1941 SS16 Pemon SS16

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SOME CARIB INDIAN MAMMAL NAMES

080

BY GEORGE GAYLORD SIMPSON

INTRODUCTION

[p. 1-A]

3:Simpson N-5 (1939) 1941
SS16 Pemon SS16

121 In an earlier paper on Mongolian mammal names[1] I have emphasized the value and importance of compiling vernacular lists of mammal names. Most of what was said there applies with equal force to names used by Carib Indians in South America, the one exception being that no Carib dialect has any native written literature. The Carib languages are still the speech of the country over enormous areas in Venezuela, the Guianas, and Brasil, including regions where it is difficult or impossible to find any local inhabitant who speaks a European language. Their importance to the traveler and collector is thus obvious. It is also noteworthy that many explorers give the Carib names in their publications and that knowledge of these is essential to the technical reader. If the explorer was not a mammalogist or did not see the animal himself, the Carib name is more likely to be correct than is the European or the scientific name given in such publications. As is true also of Mongolian, Carib dialects have provided some of our popular (e.g., manatee) and some of our scientific (e.g., *Alouatta*) names for mammals, although it is true that a very different group of South American languages, Tupi-Guaraní, is more important in these respects.[2]

101 The following lists were based, in the 114 first place, on a vocabulary of the Kamarakoto dialect and another of the Taurepán dialect that I recorded in southern Venezuela early in 1939 while attached to the

[1] 1938, Amer. Mus. Novitates, No. 980.
[2] See Simpson (1941), a summary of English vernacular names for South American mammals, written after the present paper but published first.

[p. 1-B]

3:Simpson N-5 (1939) 1941
SS16 Pemon SS16

101 Comisión Exploradora de la Gran Sabana
114 of the Ministerio de Fomento, a depart-
ment of the Venezuelan Government.
In this connection I am much indebted to
114 the minister, Dr. Manuel R. Egaña, and
to the organizers of the expedition and my
companions on it, Drs. Victor M. López,
Santiago E. Aguerrevere, Carlos Delgado
O., and Carlos Freeman. My presence in
Venezuela was made possible by the gener-
osity of Mr. H. S. Scarritt. The accurate
equation of Indian with scientific names
was made possible in many cases by the
collection of mammals made on the same
occasion by my wife, Dr. Anne Roe. Tech-
nical lists of the mammals of this general
region have been given by her (Roe, 1939)
and by Tate (1939). The species named
below are those of the Arekuna region.
Animals known to the other Caribs are
mostly the same species, or other races of
them.

127 Knowledge of these two dialects has
been supplemented by reference to many
standard works, of which those of Koch-
Grünberg (especially for Taurepán), Wil-
liams (for Makuchi), de Goeje (for Kaliña
and compiled comparative Carib vocabu-
laries), and Adam (compiled comparative
vocabulary) are most important. I have
cited an authority for each word not re-
corded by me. In a few cases these are
secondary authorities (especially Adam and
de Goeje) since their compilations make it
unnecessary for present purposes to refer
to the very scattered literature on each
separate dialect. In most cases I have
also given the Venezuelan Spanish names,
since these often differ markedly from the
Spanish of other regions.

[p. 1-C]

3:Simpson N-5 (1939) 1941
SS16 Pemon SS16
Camaracoto
Taurepan

1

DISTRIBUTION OF DIALECTS

197 Carib languages and dialects have been spoken from Cuba and Central America to southern Brazil and from almost the extreme eastern end of South America to the foot of the Andes. They were not spoken in the Andes, except for the Motilones in the Perijá mountains, or west or south of Brazil. The outlying dialects are now mostly extinct or survive in isolated communities in regions predominantly of some other speech. These therefore have little interest from the present point of view. The main region where Carib languages are still the predominant or the only local idioms includes Venezuela south and east of the Orinoco (Venezuelan Guiana or, more properly, Guayana), most of British, Dutch, and French Guianas (especially their southwestern parts), and much of the contiguous parts of Brazil north of the Amazon. This constitutes what is probably the largest single mass of any one stock of Indians still retaining their own speech, organization, and customs that survives anywhere in the world.

Although the Caribs of this region all speak recognizably related tongues, just as the Portuguese, Spanish, French, Italians, and Rumanians all speak Romance languages, these are differentiated into several distinct languages and many local dialects. Kamarakoto, spoken around Auyán-tepúi, a great mountain northwest of and somewhat similar to Roroimá,[1] and Taurepán, spoken near to and generally westward of Roroimá, are dialects of the Arekuna language (much as British and American are, properly, two dialects of the English language although the descent is not analogous). The particular interest of Arekuna is that it is, at least in some respects, archaic and that it is spoken almost in the middle of the great central 136 mass of Carib distribution. Zoölogically, also, the Arekuna area is of great interest,

[1] Or "Roraima." "Roroimá" more nearly represents the Indian pronunciation and therefore seems to me more nearly correct.

[p. 2-A]

3;Simpson N-5 (1939) 1941
SS16 Pemon SS16
Kamura Koto
Taurepan

136

occurring in a transitional zone within the Neotropical realm and still relatively unaffected by human interference. Some collecting has already been done there, but the fauna is not yet well known and further field work is needed.

197
125

It would be confusing to attempt to trace names through every known dialect, even in this central region, so that only four of major importance will regularly be cited (when the words are on record) and others mentioned only if some name in them happens to have special interest. Aside from Kamarakoto and Taurepán, the languages to be cited regularly are Makuchi, south and east of the Arekuna-speaking area, in northern Brazil and southwestern British Guiana, and Kaliña, spoken mostly in Dutch Guiana, a dialect of "Carib" in the strictest sense (not the broader sense used here, much as a "Roman" language might contrast with a "Romance" language). Other languages incidentally mentioned are Akawai, spoken generally in western British Guiana and into Venezuela, northeast and east of Arekuna; Galibi, a dialect very near Kaliña, spoken in the coastal region between Cayenne and Paramaribo; Trio, spoken in southern Dutch Guiana; Vakairi, spoken on the Xingu in Brazil; and Chayma and Cumanagoto, formerly spoken in the northeastern coastal region of Venezuela. Arawak is, of course, a whole family of languages like Carib and the several Arawak names cited here (mostly from de Goeje) are in the dialect of Dutch Guiana as far as that differs from the rather uniform language of the main bodies of Guiana Arawaks. Tupi-Guaraní designates another great family of languages spoken along the Amason and south to the Río de la Plata. The "Lingoa geral" is a more or less standardized form of Tupi, proper, widespread as a means of communication among the diverse natives of Brazil and it is this form that is cited.

[p. 2-B]

3:Simpson N-5 (1939) 1941
SS16 Pemon SS16

Kamarakoto

TRANSCRIPTION

194 The Carib phonetic system is very unlike
197 that of any European language and also varies greatly from one dialect to another, so that any exact representation of the pronunciation is impossible without lengthy discussion and the use of many specially cast typographic symbols. Only a rough approximation, sufficiently close generally to produce a pronunciation recognizable by the Indians, is here attempted. The following remarks are based chiefly on Kamarakoto, because I know it best, but extension to other dialects will not produce unrecognizable distortion. In citing names from other authors I have transferred them into my system of transcription, as nearly as may be, instead of attempting to explain the different system used by each author.

194 VOWELS.—*a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, and *u* will be recognized if pronounced as in Spanish or Italian, i.e., given the so-called continental values.

There is a whole system of intermediate (central) vowels in Carib that cannot be correctly represented with our ordinary letters. For typographic simplicity I have represented the most essential of them by *ä*, *ë*, *ö*, and *ü*. *ä* is to be pronounced approximately like short *e* in English, i.e., about as in "met." This is quite different from the sound represented by *e* and is sharply distinguished by the Indians themselves. In many cases however, authors have not distinguished them in transcribing Indian words and in names cited from other authors the sounds given as *e* doubtless include some that are really *ä*. *ë* is near the so-called neutral vowel of English, about like the last *e* in "pavement" (as it is really pronounced in rapid speech, not with an affectedly clear pronunciation) and almost exactly like the French sound in "de" or "le." It is very unlike *ä* or *e*, being much more like *ö*, and the best authorities (such as de Goeje, Williams, Koch-Grünberg) usually distinguish it, but here again some writers, especially those whose native language (particularly Spanish) includes no similar sound, tend to write *e* and in citing such

[p. 3-A]

3:Simpson N-5 (1939) 1941
SS16 Pemon SS16
Kamarakoto

authors there is no way of telling when this sound really occurs. *ö* and *ü* are not exactly like the German sounds written in the same way or like French *eu* and *u*, respectively, but are near enough to make those pronunciations recognizable. In some dialects *ö* is barely or not distinguishable from *ë*. Most Spanish-speaking authors and some others (notably Williams although he is otherwise an excellent authority) do not distinguish *ö* from *o*, or sometimes from *ë* or even *e*, and *ü* from *u*. German authors, familiar with analogous sounds, do usually make the distinction, notably Koch-Grünberg.

[114]

Two successive vowels of which the second is *-i* or *-u* are to be pronounced as falling diphthongs. For instance, *ai* is pronounced as in Spanish or as in the English word "aisle."

CONSONANTS.—In general the usual English pronunciation is sufficiently close. *b* and *d* tend to be soft (nearly *v* and *th* as in "that"), but the hard (fully closed) pronunciation is a sufficiently safe general rule. *g* is always hard, as in "get," never as in "gem." *sh* is pronounced as in "ship," *ch* as in "chip," and *j* as in "judge." *w* is pronounced as in English, not as in German. *r* and *l* are interchangeable in Carib and no dialect really distinguishes the two. The correct pronunciation is impossible to an English-speaking person without long practice. Ordinary English (sounded) *r* and *l* will usually be recognizable. The flapped or single-trill Spanish *r*, if the reader has acquired it, is much closer, but the fully trilled Spanish *rr* is bad and French or German guttural *r* still worse. *n* is usually as in English words such as "no" or "on," but almost invariably at the end of words and before *k*, *g*, and *w* it takes on something or much of the sound of *ng* as in "sing." The sound here represented by *'* is another that does not consciously occur in European languages. It is formed by suddenly bringing the tongue in contact with the palate after a short vowel sound. It can be approximated by pronouncing a *t* after *i* and a *k* after other vowels, and has often been so written by

[p.3-B]

Kamarakoto
Taurepan

197 travelers, or as *d* or *g*. This will be recognizable but is incorrect in that *t* and *k* derive most of their sound from the release of breath when the tongue is removed from the palate, whereas in the Indian sound ' this release is nearly or quite inaudible. *th* is as in English "thin" and *zh* like *s* in "azure." Both sounds are rare and are usually variants of *y*. *y* in general is as in English or Spanish, but it is a peculiarly fluid and protean sound in Carib, even within one dialect, varying from a sound almost *d* to one almost *zh*. It will, however, usually be understood if constantly pronounced as in "yet."

ACCENT.—In Kamarakoto and Taurepán the last syllable is almost always short but carries the stress accent, and this is

[paragraph continues on top of p. 4-B]

MAMMALIA

192 825 197 Animal in general, almost invariably referring to mammals—Kamarakoto *woto*. Taurepán *woto*. Makuchi (Williams) *kamo*. These words usually mean an animal to be hunted and Williams notes the special applicability of *kamo* to deer, an example of the curiously world-wide

[paragraph continues on middle of p. 4-B]

MARSUPIALIA

Opossum, Venezuelan Spanish "rabipelado," *Didelphis marsupialis* and *Metachirus nudicaudatus*, and probably also *Marmosa* spp.—Kamarakoto *abare* (open *b*, nearly *v*). Taurepán *aware*. Makuchi (Schomburgk) *yawari-kusinai*, identified as *Philander*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *awari*. The Guiana Arawak name, *yawali* (de Goeje), is obviously cognate.

Yapok, water opossum, Venezuelan Spanish "perrito de agua" (but this may also be applied to small otters), *Chironectes minimus*—Kamarakoto *abarepoka*, *maparwa*. These were said to be two names for the same animal, the description of which strongly suggests *Chironectes* as does

[p. 4-A]
[paragraph continues on bottom of p. 4-B]

Kamarakoto
Taurepan

194 probably true of most Carib dialects. The penultimate vowel is usually rather long and may be very long, as preceding vowels may also (but very rarely) be. When such vowels are very long, the unstressed length has much the effect on our ears of an accented syllable, our accent being usually a combination of stress and length while these are independent in Carib. In my own transcriptions and when I have been able to recognize them surely in those of others, I represent these superlong vowels by placing a colon after them. Accent will usually be near enough for recognition if these marked long vowels are accented when they occur and the last syllable is accented when they do not.

MAMMALIA

192 825 197 transfer between the name of a favorite game animal and that of animals in general. The words are also used secondarily to mean "meat," which is more specifically *woto-pun* in Kamarakoto. The Makuchi word is not typically Carib and may well be borrowed for Tupi.

MARSUPIALIA

the inclusion in *abarepoka* of the root for "opossum," although the equation was not definitely established. There is in the Indian mind as well as in those of most other residents of northern South America confusion between the yapok, various otters, and some other water animals. Makuchi *marparwa* is given by Schomburgk as meaning the larger species of otter, while Williams defines it as a kind of frog. Taurepán *aparowa* is cognate, but it is uncertain whether it means *Chironectes*, an otter, or both. Taurepán *awa:lipoka* is given by Koch-Grünberg as a name for an otter, but obviously equals Kamarakoto *abarepoka*.

[p. 4-B]

3:Simpson N-5 (1939) 1941
SS16 Pemon SS16
Kamarakoto
Taurepan

CHIROPTERA

192 197 825 Bat, Spanish "murciélago," all genera and species—Taurepán *maribē'* (given by Koch-Grünberg as *mali:pa'*[1]). Makuchi (Williams) *mara:pa*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *leri*. Bakairi (Adam) *meri*. These all contain one root, *leri* = *meri* = *mari* = *mara*, but it undergoes marked transforma-

[paragraph continues at top of p. 5-B]

PRIMATES

Monkey, Spanish "mono," primarily *Cebus apella* but probably including some other forms—Kamarakoto *ibarga*. Taurepán *ibarga*, *iwarka*. My Kamarakoto and Taurepán informants distinguished only two sorts of monkeys, *ibarga*, including *Cebus* and probably any other of the here rare smaller monkeys, and *arauta*, the howler. Williams gives the following list for the Makuchis (the identifications are his):

"*Ateles paniscus*"—*kwa:tē*.
"*Cebus* sp."—*karima*.
"*Cebus capucinus*?"—*iwaru:ka* (despite the shift of vowel lengths = *ibarga*).
"*Pithecia leucocephala*"—*thari:ki* (this Makuchi *th* = *y* in most other dialects).
"*Pithecia satanas*"—*kuchi:wē*.
"Sackawinki"—*ila:ru*.
Unidentified—*kari*.

De Goeje gives the following partly cognate list for Kaliña (identifications de Goeje's):

"*Ateles* sp."—*kwa:ta* (= Makuchi *kwa:tē*).
"*Cebus* spp."—*me:ku* (a form of a widespread Carib root, *miko*, etc., for small monkeys).
"*Cebus*, small species"—*akalima* (= Makuchi *karima*).

[paragraph continues at middle of p. 5-B]

XENARTHRA

Three-toed sloth, Spanish "pereza," *Bradypus tridactylus*—Kamarakoto *kwaran*. Taurepán *kuaran*, *kuwaran*. Makuchi (Williams) *kuwaran*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *kupirisi*. Williams defines the Makuchi word as *Choloepus*, but Schomburgk gave it for *Bradypus* and was, I think, probably correct. There is great confusion in the

[1] Koch-Grünberg's Taurepán is that spoken south of the Brasilian border and differs slightly but appreciably from the purer Taurepán spoken north of the border around Santa Elena where I recorded my Taurepán vocabulary.

[p. 5-A]
[paragraph continues at bottom of p. 5-B]

Kamarakoto
Taurepan

CHIROPTERA

192
197
825

tions. No Caribs seem to distinguish different kinds of bats except adjectivally as "large," "small," etc. The Kamarakoto word remembered as *maripai'*, but the written record was mislaid and this is not reliable.

PRIMATES

"*Pithecia leucocephala*"—*aliki* (= Makuchi *thari:ki*).
"*Pithecia satanas*?"—not given in Kaliña, *kusi:ri* in the allied languages Trio and Oyana (probably = Makuchi *kuchi:rē*).
"*Pithecia chiropotes*"—*kesyu*.
"*Nyctipithecus*—*kubara*.
"*Hapale jacchus*"—*kusiri* (same as Trio *kusi:ri* although differently identified).

Obviously these two tribes both know and distinguish more monkeys than do the Arekunas. In their area we saw only *Cebus* and *Alouatta* and such other genera as may occur are apparently very rare.

Howling monkey, Venezuelan Spanish "araguato," *Alouatta senicula*—Kamarakoto *arauta*. Taurepán *arauta*. Makuchi (Williams) *arauta*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *aluata*. Cumanagoto (de Goeje) *arawata*. The scientific name *Alouatta*, which has priority over the frequently used *Mycetes*, is derived from a French spelling of the Carib word in some dialect in which it was pronounced as in Kaliña. The Venezuelan Spanish name was also derived from the Carib root, but in the form seen in Cumanagoto.

XENARTHRA

European understanding of the native names for this and the following animal, and among the Carib tribes themselves there is little uniformity. I am sure of the Kamarakoto usages, because they were checked against specimens. No tribe fails to distinguish the two genera, although civilized residents seldom separate them.

Two-toed sloth, Spanish "pereza," *Choloepus didactylus*—Kamarakoto *nupi* Taurepán *nupi*. Makuchi (Williams) *tenupi*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *aipaula*. Williams

[p 5-8]

3:Simpson N-5 (1939) 1941
SS16 Pemon SS16
Kamarakoto
Taurepan

identifies *tenupi* simply as "sloth" and gives a Makuchi word, *waiwa*, for a third kind of sloth, but this must, I think, be an error, possibly a confusion with *woiwa*, an anteater, see below.

Giant anteater, Venezuelan Spanish "oso palmero," *Myrmecophaga tridactyla*—Kamarakoto *waremâ*. Taurepán *waremâ*. Makuchi (Williams) *tama:nowa*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *tamano:a*. Here again there is great confusion between names for the two common anteaters and I can guarantee only the Kamarakoto and Taurepán usages. Words cognate with *waremâ* are often recorded as meaning *Tamandua*, not *Myrmecophaga*, and I do not know whether this is a real difference in Indian usage or simply error on the part of the recorders. Similarly words of the general form *tamanua* are sometimes given as applying to *Tamandua* and of course that scientific name is derived from this native root, which is perhaps of Carib origin although it also occurs in Tupi, Arawak, etc., and is practically an international word among South American Indians. It is curious that most authors give the variants of *tamanua* as meaning *Myrmecophaga*, not *Tamandua*, in Carib languages. In Tupi this word applies to both genera. The scientific limitation of the name to *Tamandua* does not follow native usage.

Lesser anteater, local Spanish "oso hormiguero," *Tamandua tetradactyla*—Kamarakoto *woiwo*. Taurepán *woiwo*. Makuchi (Williams) *woiwa*. I could not determine whether the Arekunas know *Cyclopes* or whether they distinguish it from *Tamandua*. De Goeje gives *walili* as Kaliña for *Cyclopes* ("*Myrmecophaga didac-*

[paragraph continues at top of p. 6-B]

RODENTIA[1]

Squirrel, Spanish "ardilla," *Sciurus* (*Guerlinguetus*) spp. (those seen were all of the *S. aestuans* group).—Kamarakoto *kari*. Taurepán *kari*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *ksi:pulu*. Trio (de Goeje) *me:ri*. This word is seldom given in vocabularies so that I cannot account for the three decidedly different roots in the languages here cited.

Capybara, Venezuelan Spanish "chi-

[p. 6-A]
[paragraph continues at bottom of p. 6-B]

192 *tyla*") but queries it, and apparently cog-
197 nate words in other dialects are usually
825 defined as *Myrmecophaga*, *Tamandua*, or both. This may even be cognate with Arekuna *waremá* (with a root *ware* which is a normal Carib transformation of *wali*).

Nine-banded armadillo, Venezuelan Spanish "cachicamo," *Dasypus novemcinctus*—Kamarakoto *atsi'gamo*. Taurepán *kai'kan*. Makuchi (Williams) *kaikan*. In the recorded vocabularies of other dialects the identifications are so vague or confused that they have little or no value. I have not been able to trace the exact distribution and history of the two very different roots appearing in the distinct Arekuna dialects. The Kamarakoto word appears to be an interesting survival of an otherwise nearly lost Indian word from which the Venezuelan "cachicamo" is derived.

Cabassu, *Cabassous* probably *unicinctus*—Kamarakoto *merun*. Taurepán *mu'ru'*. Makuchi (Schomburgk) *muru*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *kapasi*. Variants of *kapasi* (*kabasi*, *kapahu*, *kapasu*, etc.) are the most widespread names for this animal in Carib languages, and it seems probable that the French vernacular word on which the prior scientific name was based is derived from a form of this Carib word. At least this is far more likely than Azara's guess that it was a corruption of the Guaraní "*caarigouazou*," "large forest-dweller."

Giant armadillo, Venezuelan Spanish "cuspa," *Priodontes gigas*[1]—Kamarakoto *mauraima*. Taurepán *mauraimē*. Makuchi (Schomburgk) *maouraima*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *manulena*.

RODENTIA[2]

güire," *Hydrochoerus hydrochoerus*—Kamarakoto *kapi:ba*. Taurepán *paruena*. Makuchi (Williams) *parawi*. Kaliña (de

[1] Pittier and Tate omit this species from their Venezuelan check-list, but it certainly occurs in southern Venezuela.

[2] Contrary to some statements, it seems certain that lagomorphs occur in Venezuela south of the Orinoco, but perhaps not among the tribes here chiefly considered and I find no Carib word for them. They are unknown to any Arekunas of my acquaintance.

3:Simpson N-5 (1939) 1941
SS16 Pemon SS16

Kamarakoto
Taurepan

192 197 825 Goeje) *kapia*. Most Carib dialects have variants of the root seen in Kamarakoto and Kaliña and these, in turn, are related to (probably derived from) the "Lingoa geral" (Tupi) *kapivara* from which have come our English vernacular name and one of the several Spanish names for this animal.

Paca, Venezuelan Spanish "lapa," *Cuniculus paca*—Kamarakoto *urana*. Taurepán *ura:na*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *pak* (= *pa'*?). The root seen in *urana* occurs (with great variations) in most Carib languages. The root *paka*, which has been borrowed by the Kaliñas, as well as in English and in the technical specific name, is "Lingoa geral" (Tupi). The root *lapa* is Arawak (also used in the English of British Guiana as "labba").

Aguti, Venezuelan Spanish "acure," *Dasyprocta cayanus*—Kamarakoto *akuri*. Taurepán *akuri*. Makuchi (Williams) *aku:ri*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *aku:li*. This word is international among the South American Indians, occurring in practically all Carib dialects as well as in Arawak, Tupi-Guaraní, etc. The Venezuelan Spanish word is from some Carib dialect allied to those cited and the forms with *-l-*, as in English, are probably from Tupi, *akuti*, or a closely allied form.

Guinea-pig, cavy, Venezuelan Spanish "acurite," *Cavia guianae* and *porcellus*—Taurepán *atu*.[1] This animal apparently has a very limited Venezuelan distribution but it is common in the Taurepán country near the Brazilian border.

Spiny rat, Venezuelan Spanish (in the llanos) "casiragua," *Proëchimys cayannensis*—Kamarakoto *urare*. Taurepán *urare'*. Makuchi (Hübner in Koch-Grünberg) *urare*. The last word is defined as "*Hesperomys*," which I cannot flatly contradict but which is most improbable since the

[1] Koch-Grünberg defines *atu* as a "rat," but he is mistaken.

[p. 7-A]

Kamarakoto
Taurepan

192 closely allied Taurepanes, like the Kamara-
197 kotos, certainly use the same word only
825 for the spiny rats.

Rats and mice in general, Spanish "ratas," "ratones," many genera and species of Cricetidae—Kamarakoto *mömbë*. Taurepán *mömbë*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *mombo*. This is the general word used to cover almost all rat- or mouse-like animals, as the English vernacular words are.

Unidentified rats or mice (cricetids?); words given as applying to rat-like animals and probably distinctive of certain limited groups, but not defined by the information available:

Kamarakoto *simuru* ("large rat with a long tail").

Taurepán *pulûya* ("large rat"), *sarikau* ("small rat with large ears and long hair"), (Koch-Grünberg) *waimu'pë* ("rat"—this may be equivalent to *mömbë* and be a Makuchism among the southern Taurepanes). Makuchi (Williams) *waimu* (perhaps a general word, Makuchi equivalent of *mömbë*), (Williams) *pureya*.

Including *mömbë* and *urare*, there are six different roots for "rat" or some particular kind of rat in these three languages. All specimens of this sort collected by us were either *urare* or *mömbë*. It remains for future collectors to fix the meanings of *simuru*, *pulûya* = *pureya*, *sarikau*, and *waimu'pë* = *waimu*.

Porcupine, Spanish "puerco espín," *Coendu prehensilis*—Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) *alu*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *muliu*. This animal seems to be very rare in this general region. My informants did not know it and the name is lacking in Williams' large Makuchi vocabulary and in most other Carib vocabularies. Koch-Grünberg obtained the Taurepán word, but notes that the animal is rare. None has been found in this area by collectors.

[p. 7-B]

Kamarakoto
Taurepan

192
197
825

Jaguar, Venezuelan Spanish "tigre," *Felis onca*—Kamarakoto *kaigutsă*. Taurepán *kaikusă*. Makuchi (Williams) *kaiku:chi*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *kaiku:si*, *kaiku:shi*. Most tribes have an elaborate nomenclature for various kinds of jaguars according to size, color, or fancied resemblance to other animals. Some of these are purely mythical and the rest simply variants of the local race of jaguar. This specialized nomenclature has some ethnological but practically no zoological interest and no attempt is made to give it here. As far as I could judge, it did not suggest real knowledge of more than one natural subspecies or race in each area.

Puma, Venezuelan Spanish "león," *Felis concolor*—Kamarakoto *kutsaribara*. Taurepán *kusariwara*. Makuchi (Schomburgk) *soasorana*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *kusaliwalan*. In all these and some other Indian languages the puma appears to be named for its supposed resemblance to a deer (*kutsari* in Kamarakoto, see below). The Makuchi word for "puma" curiously contains the Tupi, not the Makuchi, word for this deer. Bates ("Naturalist on the . . . Amazons") supposes the naming of the puma for a deer to arise from the two animals having the same color and Williams adds that he has actually mistaken a puma for a deer. Despite this testimony and without being able to adduce any direct evidence for my suspicion, I do suspect that the original explanation, perhaps now forgotten by the Indians themselves, was different and had to do with their magical beliefs.

Ocelot, Venezuelan Spanish "cunavara, cunaguaro" "tigrito," *Felis pardalis*—Kamarakoto *marakada*. Taurepán *marakada*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *maraka:ya*. These words are all related to and perhaps derived from the Tupi-Guaraní word *mbarakadya*, *marakaya*, etc. They possibly include other small cats besides the ocelot.

Fox, savanna fox, Spanish "zorro," *Cerdocyon thous*—Kamarakoto *maikan*. Taurepán *maikan*. Makuchi (Williams) *maikan*.

Bush dog, Venezuelan Spanish "perro de

CARNIVORA

192 197 825

monte," "perro grullero," *Icticyon venaticus*[1]—Kamarakoto *yai'* (with a very close *y* almost like English *th*). Taurepán *yai'* (similar *y*).

Domestic dog, Spanish "perro," *Canis familiaris*—Kamarakoto *pero*. Taurepán *arimŏraga*. Makuchi (Williams) *arimara:ka*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *pe:ro*. The Kamarakoto and Kaliña names are, of course, derived from the Spanish but the other two are true Carib and the dog was known to some Caribs before Columbus. Carib names for other domestic animals are all either onomatopoeic or derived from European languages. Many South American Indians call dogs by a name identical with or closely related to that for the jaguar, but these Caribs do not.

Coati, Venezuelan Spanish "zorro guacho," *Nasua* sp.—Kamarakoto *ibarwana*. Taurepán *iwarwana*. It is not quite certain that this is always the coati, strictly speaking, but it is the only word the Kamarakotos know for animals of this sort and probably includes any species of *Nasua sens. lat.* and perhaps other procyonids, if any occur in their region.

On the other hand, the Taurepanes not only have this word but at least two others: *araiwa'*, "something like a fox, with a black head, and climbs trees," and *koazhi*, "like an *araiwa'* but does not climb trees." I could not equate these with actual specimens. The second is a form of the widespread root preserved in our English "coati," a root derived from or spread through the Tupi language. The Arawak root *kibihi* (and variants) is also used for the coati in some Carib languages (e.g., Akawai).

Otter, Venezuelan Spanish "perro de agua," "nutria," *Lutra*, probably mostly *L. brasiliensis*—Kamarakoto *saro*. Taurepán *saro'*. Makuchi (Williams) *tura:ra*, (White in Beebe's "Tropical Wild Life in British Guiana") *saro*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *awalibuya*. There is little or no doubt that the *saro* is *Lutra brasiliensis*, but the

[1] Pittier and Tate note that this dog probably occurs in Venezuela. It is now known definitely to occur in that country, in Venezuelan Guayana north of the Brazilian border. The only recorded specimen was taken alive in the Tirika valley by our companions on this expedition.

[p. 8-B]

192 records of native nomenclature of the
197 otters are otherwise very confusing. See
825 *Chironectes*, above. Besides *saro*, Koch-Grünberg gives four other Taurepán names for otters: *asa:len*, *kara:saiyana*, *kali'nakon*, and *jili:ligon* (with variants of
[paragraph continues at top of p. 9-B]

SIRENIA

Manatee, Spanish "manatí," *Trichechus inunguis*—Kaliña (de Goeje) *yalawa*, *kayumoru*. Makuchi (Appun) *koimuru*. Chayma (de Goeje) *kuyumuri*. The Arawak word is also *kuyumulu*, *kuyumoru*, etc. The Kamarakotos and Taurepanes apparently do not know the animal.

There has been much discussion of the derivation of the word "manatee" (beyond the fact that it is the Spanish "manatí"). West African origin has been suggested but now generally discarded in favor of West Indian origin, probably Carib. This is given in all the dictionaries that I have consulted and apparently is accepted by all zoologists. The usual etymology is to derive it from a Carib word *manatui*, or a similar form, and this is occasionally (e.g., Century Dictionary) said to mean "big beaver."[1]

Some of the oldest vocabularies of West Indian Carib do give *manatui* (or an analogous spelling) as the name of this animal. This is further evidence that the
[paragraph continues at upper part of p. 9-B]

PERISSODACTYLA

Tapir, Venezuelan Spanish "danta," *Tapirus terrestris*—Kamarakoto *maikuri*. Taurepán, *waira*. Makuchi (Williams) *waira*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *maipura*, *maipuri*. Both these roots are widespread in
[paragraph continues on lower part of p9-B]

ARTIODACTYLA

Savanna deer, Spanish "venado," *Odocoileus* probably *gymnotis*—Kamarakoto *waikin*. Taurepán *waikin*. Makuchi (Williams) *waikin*.

Red brocket, *Mazama americana*—

[1] Although it is not explained why the Caribs should describe a familiar animal in terms of one they probably never saw.

[p.9-A]

[paragraph continues at bottom of p.9-B]

Kamarakoto
Taurepan

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each). My Taurepán informants did not know any of these words, and I suspect that they are mythical animals or color variants and not natural forms distinct from the *saro*.

SIRENIA

early travelers believed this to be a Carib word, but it is not proof that it really was such. As far as I can learn, in surviving dialects on which there is reliable information the manatee is never designated by any word remotely resembling *mánatui* or *manati*. There is, however, an indubitable Carib word that is obviously this, or closely related to this: Arekuna *manati*, Makuchi (Williams) *manatĕ*, Galibi (Adam) *manate*, Akawai (Adam) *manadu*, etc. This word means, not "manatee," but "(a woman's) breast." Since the most striking character of the manatee to most observers, primitive and otherwise, is the human appearance of the mammae, it is a reasonable conclusion that this is really the origin of the name. It is not known, and probably is not now knowable, whether the Island Caribs themselves extended the word and used it as a name for the animal or whether they used it only descriptively and it was mistaken by Europeans for a name.

PERISSODACTYLA

Carib. In some dialects *waira* is liable to confusion with a word of indelicate meaning and this has perhaps influenced the use of the other word for "tapir."

ARTIODACTYLA

Kamarakoto *kutsari*. Taurepán, *kusaɔri*, *usaɔri*. Makuchi (Williams) *usaɔri*. Kaliña (de Goeje, questionably given as "*Cervus nemorivagus*") *kusali*.

Gray brocket, wood deer, *Mazama nemorivaga*—Taurepán *kariyaukĕ*. Makuchi (Williams) *kariyauku*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *kariaku*. My Kamarakoto informants

Kamarakoto
Taurepan

192 did not name this animal, although it
197 occurs in their region and is doubtless
825 known to some of them.

Collared peccary, Venezuelan Spanish "chácharo," *Tayassu tajacu*—Kamarakoto *pakira*. Taurepán *pakira*. Makuchi (Williams) *paraka*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *pakira*. Cumanagoto (Adam) *pakira*. This root, which also occurs as a loan in some Tupi dialects, has given us our word "peccary." It is peculiar that it has also given rise to the colloquial Spanish "báquiro," through Cumanagoto or an allied Carib dialect, but that this name was transposed by the colonists from this animal, to which it belongs, to the other peccary which has a different Carib name. The

[paragraph continues on top of p. 10-B]

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[p. 10-A]

[paragraph continues on middle of p. 10-B]

3:Simpson N-5 (1939) 1941
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Kamarakoto
Taurepan

192 Makuchi form is an unusual example of
197 metathesis, *paraka* for *pakara*.

825 White-lipped peccary, Venezuelan Spanish "báquiro," *Tayassu pecari*—Kamarakoto *po-inga, poyinga*. Taurepán *pö-inga, piyingĕ*. Makuchi (Williams) *po-inga*. Kaliña (de Goeje) *pi:ndya* (final vowel rounded). Koch-Grünberg has a word *tekenoma* (pronounced *tökönomĕ* by my Taurepán informant and *tauka:namo* in Kamarakoto) which he lists as if it were a separate, third species of peccary, but its real meaning is "a particularly bad or dangerous wild animal, especially a large and ferocious *po-inga*," as explained to me by Indians of both these tribes.

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[p. 10-B]